

Sample: 2,506 US adults

Interviewing dates: October 27th- November 5th, 2023

**US NATIONAL SURVEY OF FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDES
ON BEHALF OF THE RONALD REAGAN INSTITUTE**

FINAL TOPLINE RESULTS

MOOD OF THE COUNTRY

1. Are you registered to vote?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(DK)</u>
Nov 2023	88%	11	1
June 2023	88%	11	1
Nov 2022	88%	10	2
Nov 2021	87%	11	2
Feb 2021	96%	4	*
Oct 2019	89%	9	1
Nov 2018	91%	9	*

[SAMPLE B ONLY]

2. Would you say things in the United States today are:

	<u>Generally headed in the right direction</u>	<u>Off in the wrong direction</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>
Nov 2023	25%	70	6
June 2023	25%	69	6
Nov 2022	28%	62	10
Nov 2021	33%	59	8
Feb 2021	42%	51	6
Oct 2019	40%	53	7
Nov 2018	37%	54	9

Please note: Due to rounding, percentages may not add to 100% and "total" columns may be one point more or less than the sum of their parts.

[SAMPLE A ONLY]

3. What would you say is the most important problem facing this country today? **[OPEN ENDED, USE PRE-CODES FOR PHONE VERSION. ACCEPT ONE ANSWER]**

	<u>Nov 2023</u>	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
Inflation/Gas prices/Grocery prices	16%	15%	4%	NA	NA	NA
Economy and jobs	16	14	16	15	11	8
Politics/Partisanship	10	6	13	17	25	22
Corruption/Incompetent leaders	9	14	12	8	14	10
Immigration	5	2	5	3	8	12
Guns/Gun policy	4	2	NA	NA	NA	NA
Border security	4	*	3	*	3	2
Systemic racism/White supremacy	3	5	5	7	NA	NA
Crime/Safety	3	3	3	1	5	3
The environment/Climate change	3	2	7	3	6	2
Homelessness / Poverty	3	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
National defense	3	1	*	*	1	1
Health care	2	4	3	3	8	9
Foreign policy	2	1	*	*	1	1
The federal deficit	2	2	2	1	1	2
Democracy	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Education/Schools	1	2	1	1	2	2
Terrorism	1	1	*	*	2	1
Abortion	*	4	NA	NA	NA	NA
Taxes	*	*	1	*	2	1
Coronavirus/COVID	*	1	12	29	NA	NA
Police brutality	*	*	*	-	NA	NA
Socialism	*	2	1	1	NA	NA
Domestic terrorism	*	*	*	1	NA	NA
Trade/Tariffs	-	7	1	*	1	1
Energy/Energy policy	-	1	NA	NA	NA	NA
Other	9	11	6	7	7	11
Don't know	2	2	2	2	3	4



CONFIDENCE IN MILITARY AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them. [RANDOMIZE. ASK ALL Q4, Q5-7 SAMPLE A ONLY, Q8-9 SAMPLE B ONLY]

		A great deal	Some	A little	Not much at all	(Don't know)	
4.	The military	Nov 2023	46%	32	12	8	1
		Nov 2022	48%	33	10	8	2
		Nov 2021	45%	33	11	10	2
		Feb 2021	56%	27	9	6	2
		Oct 2019	63%	23	8	5	1
		Nov 2018	70%	23	4	2	1
5.	The Presidency	Nov 2023	16%	20	17	47	1
		Nov 2022	16%	24	13	45	2
		Nov 2021	19%	21	15	43	2
		Feb 2021	30%	20	12	35	2
		Oct 2019	27%	18	11	43	1
		Nov 2018	28%	16	9	45	1
6.	Congress	Nov 2023	5%	21	28	43	2
		Nov 2022	9%	24	25	39	3
		Nov 2021	6%	24	25	41	3
		Feb 2021	10%	24	21	43	2
		Oct 2019	8%	25	24	39	2
		Nov 2018	5%	34	26	32	3
7.	The Supreme Court	Nov 2023	16%	30	23	29	2
		Nov 2022	16%	29	21	30	3
		Nov 2021	18%	36	21	21	4
		Feb 2021	23%	34	22	19	2
		Oct 2019	26%	36	20	14	3
		Nov 2018	27%	43	14	13	3
8.	The news media	Nov 2023	8%	25	22	43	1
		Nov 2022	9%	26	20	43	2
		Nov 2021	10%	23	19	45	3
		Feb 2021	14%	22	18	45	1
		Oct 2019	15%	26	17	38	2
		Nov 2018	16%	26	14	42	1
9.	Police and law enforcement	Nov 2023	27%	37	19	17	1
		Nov 2022	33%	37	14	15	1
		Nov 2021	33%	33	16	16	2
		Feb 2021	39%	30	15	14	1
		Oct 2019	40%	34	14	10	1
		Nov 2018	50%	33	8	9	-



[Q10-14 SAMPLE A ONLY]

10. Do you think the US military is: **[ROTATE 1 AND 3]**

Too focused on social issues at the expense of a focus on warfighting	23%
Appropriately balancing a focus on warfighting and social issues	39
Too focused on warfighting at the expense of a focus on social issues	24
(Don't know)	15

11. As you may know, the Senate confirms nominees for senior military positions, and these positions are left unfilled if the Senate does not vote on them. Do you think it is appropriate or inappropriate for a senator to block votes on these nominees in order to protest Defense Department policies unrelated to warfighting?

Appropriate	22%
Inappropriate	63
(Don't know)	15

12. If a close friend or family member were considering joining the military, would you encourage them or discourage them?

Encourage	51%
Discourage	33
(Don't know)	16

[IF ENCOURAGE. N=605]

13. What is the primary reason you would encourage them?

Patriotism / Serve the country / Honorable	31%
Supportive of others (general)	13
Military needs people	12
Career opportunities / Well paid / Skills training	11
Builds character / Teaches discipline	10
Veteran / Military family / Know someone in the military	10
Good benefits (GI bill, college, retirement)	7
Other	3
Not sure / Refused	3



[IF DISCOURAGE. N=419]

14. What is the primary reason you would discourage them?

Too dangerous / Not worth the risks (death, injury, trauma)	21%
Anti-war / Pro-peace / Potential to go to war	20
Would not serve given current political climate / Distrust politicians	15
Not worth it (general)	13
Do not take care of veterans / Poor treatment	8
Too woke / View social policies negatively	8
Corruption in Military / Distrust leadership	6
Veteran / Personal connection to military member with bad experience	4
Other	4
Not sure / Refused	2

POLICY PRIORITIES

[Q15-19 SAMPLE B ONLY]

Thinking now about the different areas in which the federal government spends money...

Please tell me if you favor or oppose increasing government spending in each of the following areas.

[IF FAVOR/OPPOSE: Is that strongly or just somewhat (favor/oppose)?] [RANDOMIZE]

		-----Favor-----			-----Oppose-----			
		TOTAL	Strongly	Some- what	TOTAL	Some- what	Strongly	(DK)
15. The military	Nov 2023	77%	46	31	20	12	9	2
	June 2023	71%	46	25	25	14	11	4
	Nov 2022	76%	48	28	21	13	9	3
	Feb 2021	74%	47	28	22	14	8	3
	Oct 2019	76%	46	30	23	15	8	2
	Nov 2018	75%	48	27	23	12	11	2
16. Border security	Nov 2023	70%	43	27	26	15	10	4
	June 2023	68%	43	26	28	18	10	4
	Nov 2022	71%	43	28	26	17	9	3
	Feb 2021	69%	43	25	28	18	9	4
	Oct 2019	64%	39	25	34	20	14	2
	Nov 2018	62%	40	22	36	18	18	3
17. Foreign aid	Nov 2023	48%	16	31	48	23	25	4
	June 2023	37%	10	27	56	27	30	7
	Nov 2022	53%	19	34	44	25	19	3
	Feb 2021	41%	13	28	53	22	31	7
	Oct 2019	48%	13	35	49	29	20	3
	Nov 2018	47%	13	34	49	25	24	4
18. Promoting freedom abroad	Nov 2023	57%	24	33	36	20	16	7
	June 2023	49%	21	27	40	22	18	12
	Nov 2022	62%	27	36	34	20	14	4
	Feb 2021	55%	22	33	35	19	16	9



19. How concerned are you that budget cuts by Congress will reduce the military's capabilities?

TOTAL CONCERNED	67%
TOTAL NOT CONCERNED	29
Extremely concerned	32%
Somewhat concerned	35
Not very concerned	19
Not at all concerned	10
(Don't know)	3

How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years?

[RANDOMIZE. Q20-23 SAMPLE A ONLY, Q24-27 SAMPLE B ONLY]

		-----Concerned-----			-----Not concerned-----				
		TOTAL	Extre- mely	Some- what	TOTAL	Not very	Not at all	(DK)	
20.	Conventional military attacks	Nov 2023	62%	24	39	35	25	10	3
		Nov 2022	57%	21	36	40	27	12	3
		Nov 2021	55%	20	35	41	28	13	4
		Feb 2021	56%	21	35	39	27	12	5
		Oct 2019	56%	20	36	42	31	11	3
		Nov 2018	50%	16	34	47	29	18	3
21.	Cyber-attacks	Nov 2023	85%	51	35	13	10	3	2
		Nov 2022	85%	48	37	13	9	4	2
		Nov 2021	88%	56	32	9	6	2	4
		Feb 2021	88%	57	30	9	6	3	3
		Oct 2019	89%	57	32	10	8	2	1
		Nov 2018	92%	66	26	7	4	3	1
	<i>2018-2019 wording: Cyber-attacks on government computers and the grid</i>								
22.	An attack on our space assets, such as satellites	Nov 2023	61%	25	36	36	26	11	2
		Nov 2022	66%	29	38	33	24	9	1
		Nov 2021	61%	24	37	34	24	10	4
		Feb 2021	60%	24	36	36	25	10	4
		Oct 2019	62%	25	37	35	25	10	3
		Nov 2018	64%	23	41	33	21	12	2
23.	Terrorist attacks on the homeland	Nov 2023	81%	47	34	17	13	5	1
		Nov 2022	76%	39	37	23	16	7	1
		Nov 2021	82%	45	37	15	11	4	3
		Feb 2021	83%	43	39	15	12	3	2
		Oct 2019	84%	42	42	15	11	4	1
		Nov 2018	85%	48	37	14	10	4	1



		-----Concerned-----			-----Not concerned-----				
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Extre- mely</u>	<u>Some- what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Not very</u>	<u>Not at all</u>		<u>(DK)</u>
24.	Political divisions in the United States leading to violence	Nov 2023	87%	54	33	12	8	4	1
		Nov 2022	85%	52	33	15	10	5	*
		Nov 2021	85%	55	30	11	8	3	4
		Feb 2021	88%	63	25	9	6	3	3
		Oct 2019	84%	51	33	13	9	4	2
25.	Climate change	Nov 2023	66%	40	26	33	13	20	1
		Nov 2022	65%	41	23	34	15	19	1
		Nov 2021	65%	41	25	30	14	16	4
		Feb 2021	66%	40	26	31	13	18	3
26.	Rising authoritarianism around the world	Nov 2023	79%	41	39	17	11	5	4
		Nov 2022	81%	43	38	16	11	5	4
		Nov 2021	75%	39	37	16	13	3	9
		Feb 2021	76%	40	36	17	12	4	7
27.	War between the US and China	Nov 2023	74%	37	38	25	16	8	1
		Nov 2022	69%	33	36	30	21	9	1
		Nov 2021	71%	33	37	25	18	7	4



DEFENSE / FOREIGN POLICY POSTURE

Most of this survey will focus on your views about the US military, national defense, and foreign policy.

[Q28 PHONE RESPONDENTS ONLY]

28. Thinking about American interests and the threats that exist in the world today, where do you think the US should focus its military forces? **[RANDOMIZE]**

	<u>Nov 2023</u>	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
The Middle East, such as Iran and Syria	31%	11%	17%	21%	37%	27%
East Asia, such as China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea	25	31	37	28	16	24
Europe, including Russia	19	18	5	8	9	5
Central America	3	5	4	5	4	4
South America	2	3	1	3	3	3
Africa	2	2	1	2	1	3
South Asia, such as India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan	2	6	9	7	7	15
(Don't know)	16	25	25	27	22	19

*Note: 2018 survey did not specify "including Russia" and "such as Iran and Syria"

[Q29 ONLINE RESPONDENTS ONLY]

29. What percentage of military resources, forces, and attention do you think the US should allocate to each of the following areas? *Please enter a percentage in each text box, with the total equal to 100.* **[RANDOMIZE] [CONTINUOUS SUM, MAX 100%]**

	<u>Average Percentage</u>
The Middle East, such as Iran and Syria	19%
East Asia, such as China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea	18
Europe, including Russia	17
South Asia, such as India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan	13
Central America	13
South America	10
Africa	10

[Q30-33 SAMPLE A ONLY]

30. When it comes to international events, do you think it is better for the United States to be more engaged and take the lead, or to be less engaged and react to events?

	<u>Nov 2023</u>	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>
More engaged and take the lead	42%	40%	42%	51%	50%
Less engaged and react to events	32	32	30	27	33
(Depends)	23	24	22	19	11
(Don't know)	3	4	6	3	5



31. In general, do you think it is better for the US to maintain military bases around the world to deter attacks and respond quickly if something happens, or do you think the US should reduce our military presence overseas and only deploy troops in response to aggression?

	<u>Nov 2023</u>	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>
Maintain bases	66%	65%	65%	63%	65%
Reduce presence overseas	28	27	27	31	28
(Don't know)	7	7	9	6	7

32. Do you think the US would win a war with a nuclear power?

	<u>Nov 2023</u>	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
Yes	44%	53%	53%	57%	65%
No	30	22	22	28	25
(Don't know)	26	24	24	15	9

33. Do you favor or oppose sending the US military into Mexico to counter, and if necessary attack, drug cartels?

Favor	41%
Oppose	46
(Don't know)	14

SKILLED IMMIGRATION AND DEFENSE PRODUCTION

[Q34-40 SAMPLE B ONLY]

34. In general, when it comes to manufacturing the materials necessary for national security, do you think the US relies too much on countries that are not our allies?

	<u>Nov 2023</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>
We rely too much on non-allies	55%	55%
We do not rely too much on non-allies	16	18
(Depends)	18	15
(Don't know)	10	12

35. Do you think the US currently has enough domestic manufacturing capacity to produce the materials, equipment, and weapons needed for national defense, or do we need more manufacturing capacity? **[IF MORE: Do we need a lot more or only a little more?]**

A lot more	38%
A little more	31
Enough as is	21
(Too much) [OMITTED ONLINE]	-
(Don't know)	10



36. Do you think the US has enough manufacturing capacity to ramp up quickly to meet our needs in a crisis, or do we need more? **[IF MORE: Do we need a lot more or only a little more?]**

A lot more	39%
A little more	31
Enough as is	21
(Too much) [OMITTED ONLINE]	-
(Don't know)	9

37. The US military and companies in the defense sector believe more skilled immigrants—meaning those with advanced degrees working in science and technology—are needed to fill high-tech national security jobs. Knowing this, do you support or oppose increasing the number of skilled immigrants legally allowed to come to the US? **[IF SUPPORT / OPPOSE: Is that strongly (support/oppose), or only somewhat?]**

TOTAL SUPPORT	62%
TOTAL OPPOSE	33
Strongly support	27%
Somewhat support	35
Somewhat oppose	18
Strongly oppose	15
(Don't know)	6

For reference: If you knew that the US military and companies in the defense sector believe more skilled immigrants are needed to fill high-tech national security jobs, would you support or oppose increasing the number of skilled immigrants legally allowed to come to the US?

	<u>June 2023</u>
<i>Support</i>	62%
<i>Oppose</i>	28
<i>(Don't know)</i>	10



Next, I would like to read you a few reasons some people think it is important to increase the number of skilled immigrants who are legally allowed to come to the US and work in national security and defense. Please tell me whether you think each one is a very good reason to increase skilled immigration, a somewhat good reason, or not a good reason. **[RANDOMIZE]**

		-----Total good reason-----				
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Not good</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>
38.	Our intelligence agencies have decades of experience ensuring that highly skilled immigrants who work in national security jobs are vetted and trustworthy.	73%	31	41	22	5
39.	Increasing skilled immigration gives us an advantage over our rivals. Ensuring highly skilled people immigrate to the US rather than China or Russia means the best and brightest are working for us rather than against us.	76%	36	40	19	5
40.	The US has a long history of skilled immigrants working in national defense. Increasing skilled immigration gives us the best chance of the next Einstein working in the US.	73%	29	43	22	5

[Q41-46 SAMPLE A ONLY]

Thinking specifically about materials and technologies that are important for national security – how do you think the US is doing when it comes to developing and producing each of the following? Is the US the best in the world, one of the best, or not one of the best? **[RANDOMIZE]**

			<u>Best in the world</u>	<u>One of the best</u>	<u>Not one of the best</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>
41.	Computer and cellular technologies, like 5G	Nov 2023	20%	59	14	7
		Feb 2021	21%	54	18	7
42.	Satellites and rockets	Nov 2023	28%	52	12	8
		Feb 2021	30%	50	11	9
43.	Robotics	Nov 2023	14%	55	21	11
		Feb 2021	14%	51	22	13
44.	Artificial intelligence, or AI	Nov 2023	16%	52	20	12
		Feb 2021	17%	51	18	14



45. At present, the military spends roughly 1% of its budget on artificial intelligence. Knowing this, do you favor or oppose increasing military spending on AI?

Favor	52%
Oppose	32
(Don't know)	16

46. Some say the use of AI in military technology can provide life-saving safety to soldiers and improve decision-making. Others say it poses ethical concerns and could lead to unpredictable consequences. Knowing this, do you favor or oppose increasing military spending on AI?

Favor	52%
Oppose	32
(Don't know)	15

[Q47-49 SAMPLE B ONLY]

Thinking now about artificial intelligence, or AI...

47. In general, do you think more integration of AI into our military systems is a good idea, a bad idea, or is it too soon to say?

Good idea	20%
Bad idea	27
Too soon to say	49
(Don't know)	4

48. Military experts say incorporating AI into US military systems can provide a strategic advantage over China. Knowing this, do you think more integration of AI into military systems is a good idea, a bad idea, or is it too soon to say?

Good idea	29%
Bad idea	19
Too soon to say	47
(Don't know)	5

49. US military policy around artificial intelligence often requires safeguards, such as ensuring that human decision-makers retain oversight over AI systems to prevent uncontrolled actions, especially in lethal situations. Knowing this, do you think more integration of AI into military systems is a good idea, a bad idea, or is it too soon to say?

Good idea	28%
Bad idea	21
Too soon to say	47
(Don't know)	4



ASSESSMENTS OF ALLIES AND ENEMIES

[Q50 SAMPLE B ONLY]

50. Which country do you see as the greatest threat to the US? [RECORD VERBATIM]

	<u>Nov 2023</u>	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
China	51%	43%	52%	37%	28%	21%
Russia	24	31	14	16	25	30
Iran	5	2	4	8	9	7
USA / Ourselves	4	3	3	3	4	4
North Korea	3	7	12	15	14	18
Israel	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Ukraine	*	1	NA	NA	NA	NA
Afghanistan	*	1	5	1	3	2
Mexico	*	1	*	1	*	1
Iraq	*	1	2	3	5	2
All / Too many	*	1	NA	NA	NA	NA
None	2	2	2	3	1	1
Other	4	4	2	3	2	1
Not sure / Refused	4	5	9	8	5	5

[Q51-57 SAMPLE A1 ONLY, Q58-63 SAMPLE A2 ONLY]

Do you see each of the following countries as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy? [RANDOMIZE]

		-----Ally-----			-----Enemy-----			(DK)
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Strong</u>	<u>Some-thing</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Some-thing</u>	<u>Strong</u>	
51. Australia	Nov 2023	83%	48	35	6	5	1	11
	Nov 2022	84%	46	37	7	5	2	9
	Nov 2021	84%	47	36	4	3	1	13
	Feb 2021	84%	54	30	5	4	1	12
	Oct 2019	93%	54	39	5	4	1	2
52. China	Nov 2023	15%	4	12	77	36	41	8
	Nov 2022	19%	5	14	75	37	38	6
	Nov 2021	23%	7	16	65	32	33	12
	Feb 2021	21%	5	16	67	30	38	11
	Oct 2019	36%	7	29	60	40	20	3
Nov 2018	38%	5	33	55	37	18	7	
53. Finland	Nov 2023	75%	33	42	7	5	1	18
	Nov 2022	74%	28	46	10	8	2	16
54. Russia	Nov 2023	9%	3	6	82	28	54	8
	Nov 2022	13%	3	10	82	31	51	5
	Nov 2021	20%	5	15	65	36	29	15
	Feb 2021	19%	6	13	69	35	35	12
	Oct 2019	28%	5	23	71	38	33	2
Nov 2018	19%	3	16	73	37	36	7	



		-----Ally-----			-----Enemy-----			(DK)	
		TOTAL	Strong	Some-thing	TOTAL	Some-thing	Strong		
55.	Saudi Arabia	Nov 2023	36%	5	32	46	30	15	18
		Nov 2022	33%	5	28	54	40	14	14
		Nov 2021	40%	6	33	40	27	13	20
		Feb 2021	45%	8	37	39	28	11	15
		Oct 2019	47%	9	38	48	34	14	5
		Nov 2018	38%	5	33	53	37	16	10
56.	Taiwan	Nov 2023	64%	27	37	15	12	3	21
		Nov 2022	69%	26	43	16	13	4	15
		Nov 2021	62%	21	41	14	11	2	24
		Feb 2021	60%	22	38	16	11	5	24
		Oct 2019	73%	21	52	17	14	3	9
		Nov 2018	71%	21	50	11	9	2	18
57.	Ukraine	Nov 2023	74%	28	46	16	11	5	10
		Nov 2022	76%	32	44	16	11	5	8
		Feb 2021	49%	11	38	26	20	7	24
		Oct 2019	61%	10	51	29	25	4	9
58.	United Kingdom	Nov 2023	85%	56	29	6	4	2	9
		Nov 2022	86%	58	28	8	6	2	7
		Nov 2021	86%	62	25	4	3	*	10
		Feb 2021	84%	61	23	6	4	1	10
		Oct 2019	93%	61	32	5	4	1	2
		Nov 2018	92%	67	25	4	2	2	4
59.	Israel	Nov 2023	71%	41	30	18	11	7	11
		Nov 2021	66%	38	28	17	12	5	17
		Feb 2021	70%	43	27	16	10	6	14
		Oct 2019	78%	43	35	19	14	5	4
		Nov 2018	80%	49	31	13	9	4	7
60.	India	Nov 2023	63%	13	50	17	13	4	20
		Feb 2021	66%	19	47	14	10	4	20
		Oct 2019	80%	16	64	14	11	3	6
		Nov 2018	78%	18	60	10	8	2	11
61.	Iran	Nov 2023	13%	4	9	76	29	47	11
		Feb 2021	11%	4	8	75	28	48	13
		Oct 2019	13%	3	10	82	37	45	5
		Nov 2018	10%	1	9	82	35	47	8



		-----Ally-----			-----Enemy-----				
			Strong	Some- thing		Some- thing	Strong	(DK)	
		<u>TOTAL</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>				
62.	Mexico	Nov 2023	63%	14	49	24	18	6	13
		Feb 2021	70%	27	43	17	13	4	13
		Oct 2019	77%	23	54	21	17	4	2
		Nov 2018	74%	24	50	21	17	4	6
63.	Turkey	Nov 2023	46%	8	38	30	25	5	24
		Feb 2021	42%	8	34	32	25	7	26
		Oct 2019	47%	6	41	47	36	11	7
		Nov 2018	50%	6	44	35	27	8	16

[Q64-66 SAMPLE B ONLY]

The US has historically provided security assistance to help its allies and friends defend themselves if they are willing to fight aggression against their own countries. Thinking about current cases, do you support or oppose the US assisting each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE]**

		-----Support-----			-----Oppose-----			
			Strongly	Some- what		Some- what	Strongly	(DK)
		<u>TOTAL</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>			
64.	Ukraine	67%	36	31	27	12	14	6
65.	Israel	71%	40	31	23	12	11	6
66.	Taiwan	65%	32	33	23	14	9	13

[Q67-68 SAMPLE A ONLY]

67. How much, if anything, have you heard about the recent security agreement between Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States—sometimes called the AUKUS security pact?

TOTAL AWARE	21%
TOTAL NOT AWARE	73
Quite a bit	6%
Some	15
Not much	29
Nothing at all	45
(Don't know)	5

68. As part of the AUKUS security pact, designed to counter growing Chinese power, the US is working with the UK and Australia to develop advanced defense technologies like nuclear-powered submarines. This will require changing US export regulations, which currently make it difficult to share defense technologies with these countries. Do you support or oppose changing US regulations to make it easier to share these sensitive technologies with the UK and Australia?

Support	58%
Oppose	22
(Don't know)	20



CHINA

[Q69 SAMPLE A ONLY]

69. Which of the following most concerns you about China? [RANDOMIZE]

	<u>Nov 2023</u>	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>
Chinese military buildup, including naval activity in the South China Sea	20%	18%	19%
Chinese human rights abuses, including the treatment of Hong Kong and the Uyghur ethnic group	20	17	17
Chinese foreign policy, including efforts to expand its influence throughout South Asia, Africa and South America	17	11	13
Chinese economic practices, including technology theft and its trade relationships with other countries	15	22	20
China invading Taiwan	10	13	7
(All / Mix) [OMITTED ONLINE]	8	7	10
(Don't know)	10	12	14

[Q70-76 SAMPLE B ONLY]

Thinking specifically about China, how concerned are you about each of the following?

[RANDOMIZE]

		-----Concerned-----			-----Not concerned-----			(DK)
		<u>TOTAL</u>	Extre- <u>mely</u>	Some- <u>what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	Not <u>very</u>	Not <u>at all</u>	
70. Chinese military build-up overall	Nov 2023	82%	45	37	15	10	5	3
	Feb 2021	78%	44	33	16	11	5	7
71. China overtaking the US as the world's number one superpower	Nov 2023	75%	42	33	23	14	9	3
	Feb 2021	75%	45	30	20	13	8	5
72. The potential invasion of Taiwan <i>For reference: The isolation of Taiwan</i>	Nov 2023	73%	31	42	21	13	7	6
	Feb 2021	66%	31	34	20	13	7	14
73. China surpassing the United States as the world's biggest economy	Nov 2023	72%	37	36	25	17	8	3
	Feb 2021	75%	45	30	20	13	8	5
74. China spying on the United States	Nov 2023	85%	57	28	13	8	5	3
75. Chinese influence with countries in Central and South America	Nov 2023	74%	32	42	22	14	7	4



76. As you may know, the Chinese government has a policy designed to achieve technological supremacy over the US when it comes to artificial intelligence by the year 2030. Knowing this, how concerned are you about the possibility of the US falling behind China technologically?

	<u>Nov 2023</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>
TOTAL CONCERNED	79%	79%
TOTAL NOT CONCERNED	18	17
Extremely	41%	48%
Somewhat	39	31
Not very	13	11
Not at all	5	6
(Don't know)	3	5

2021 Wording: "...when it comes to artificial intelligence, and recent estimates suggest China could achieve superiority in artificial intelligence as soon as 2022."

[Q77-79 ALL OF SAMPLE A. Q80-83 SAMPLE A1 ONLY, Q84-86 SAMPLE A2 ONLY]

In each of the following areas, do you think the US has superiority over China, are the two countries about equal, or does China have superiority over the US? **[RANDOMIZE Q77-79 FIRST, THEN RANDOMIZE REMAINDER]**

	<u>US has superiority</u>	<u>About equal</u>	<u>China has superiority</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>
77. Overall military capabilities	50%	28	15	7
78. Economic strength	34%	30	28	7
79. Diplomatic influence	44%	31	15	10
80. Ground forces	40%	24	26	10
81. Air forces	65%	18	6	11
82. Naval forces	57%	22	10	11
83. Space forces and capabilities	52%	25	11	12
84. Cyber capabilities	24%	32	33	11
85. Artificial intelligence	26%	30	29	15
86. Autonomous capabilities, like certain kinds of drones and other weapons, that can operate without human guidance	36%	31	22	11

[Q87-89 SAMPLE A ONLY]

For each of the following, do you think China will gain power compared to the US over the next 10 years or lose power compared to the US? **[RANDOMIZE]**

	<u>Gain power</u>	<u>Lose power</u>	<u>(Stay the same)</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>
87. Military power	53%	26	4	17
88. Economic strength	53%	29	2	15
89. Diplomatic influence	40%	39	3	19



[Q90-96 SAMPLE B ONLY]

As you may know, although official Chinese policy is that Taiwan is part of China, Taiwan has operated relatively independently for decades. If China invaded Taiwan, please tell me if you would support or oppose the United States coming to Taiwan’s defense in each of the following ways.

[DO NOT RANDOMIZE]

		<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(DK)</u>
90. Officially recognizing Taiwan as an independent country	Nov 2023	72%	15	13
	Nov 2022	73%	11	15
	Nov 2021	71%	10	19
	Oct 2019	76%	11	13
91. Imposing economic sanctions against China	Nov 2023	69%	16	15
	Nov 2022	60%	23	17
	Nov 2021	66%	15	19
	Oct 2019	64%	23	13
92. Sending more military equipment to Taiwan	Nov 2023	56%	28	16
	Nov 2022	56%	26	18
93. Moving US military assets, such as aircraft carriers, into the region	Nov 2023	58%	28	14
	Nov 2022	52%	29	19
	Nov 2021	55%	24	21
	Oct 2019	55%	32	13
94. Establishing a no-fly zone over the area, which could involve shooting down Chinese warplanes	Nov 2023	53%	30	17
	Nov 2022	46%	34	20
	Nov 2021	50%	25	25
	Oct 2019	42%	42	16
95. Committing US ground troops to the defense of Taiwan	Nov 2023	46%	35	19
	Nov 2022	43%	36	21
	Nov 2021	40%	35	25
	Oct 2019	39%	45	16



96. As you may know, Taiwan has a democratically elected government. It is also a major manufacturer of electronics and is the world's largest producer of advanced semiconductors—components used in computers, cellphones, cars, and other devices. Does hearing this make you more or less likely to support committing US forces to the defense of Taiwan if China invades, or does it have no effect? **[IF MORE / LESS LIKELY: Is that much (more/less) likely, or only somewhat?]**

	<u>Nov 2023</u>	<u>Nov 2022</u>
TOTAL MORE LIKELY	52%	46%
TOTAL LESS LIKELY	5	6
Much more likely to support	26%	21%
Somewhat more likely to support	26	25
No difference	37	40
Somewhat less likely to support	3	4
Much less likely to support	2	2
(Don't know)	5	9

[Q97-98 SAMPLE A ONLY]

In an attempt to discourage China from invading Taiwan, do you support or oppose each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE]**

		<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(DK)</u>
97. Increasing US military presence near Taiwan	Nov 2023	60%	25	15
	June 2023	56%	30	14
	Nov 2022	61%	26	14
98. Increasing US arms sales to Taiwan	Nov 2023	55%	28	17
	June 2023	52%	31	17
	Nov 2022	58%	26	16



UKRAINE

[Q99-107 SAMPLE A ONLY]

On another subject...

99. Who do you think is currently winning the war between Russia and Ukraine?

	<u>Nov 2023</u>	<u>June 2023</u>
Russia	31%	27%
Ukraine	34	31
(Neither)	23	25
(Don't know)	12	17

100. How important do you think it is to the US that Ukraine win the war?

	<u>Nov 2023</u>	<u>June 2023</u>
TOTAL IMPORTANT	76%	75%
TOTAL UNIMPORTANT	16	17
Very	48%	46%
Somewhat	28	30
Not very	10	9
Not at all	7	8
(Don't know)	8	8

101. Overall, do you support or oppose sending US military aid to Ukraine?

	<u>Nov 2023</u>	<u>June 2023</u>
Support	59%	59%
Oppose	30	30
(Don't know)	11	11

102. The US has spent roughly \$44 billion on military aid to Ukraine, which is roughly 6% of the US military's own budget. Ukraine remains in control of roughly 83% of its territory and US intelligence believes the war has severely degraded Russia's military power and its ability to threaten NATO allies. Knowing this, do you support or oppose sending US military aid to Ukraine?

Support	60%
Oppose	30
(Don't know)	10



Regarding the war in Ukraine, how concerned are you about each of the following occurring?
[RANDOMIZE]

		-----Concerned-----			-----Not concerned-----				
			Extre-	Some-		Not	Not		
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>mely</u>	<u>what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>very</u>	<u>at all</u>	<u>(DK)</u>	
103.	Russia using a nuclear weapon	Nov 2023	74%	41	33	23	16	7	3
		Nov 2022	77%	45	32	21	14	7	2
104.	The Russian invasion of Ukraine inspiring other authoritarian countries to invade their democratic neighbors	Nov 2023	71%	32	38	24	17	8	5
		Nov 2022	71%	37	35	25	18	8	3
105.	The war expanding to NATO countries in Eastern Europe, forcing the US to get directly involved	Nov 2023	70%	31	39	25	18	7	5
		Nov 2022	74%	35	39	22	15	7	3
106.	US military aid to Ukraine causing the US to deplete its weapons stockpile	Nov 2023	63%	29	34	32	21	11	5
		Nov 2022	59%	29	30	37	23	14	4
107.	American focus on Ukraine distracting policymakers from the threat posed by China	Nov 2023	65%	27	38	30	21	9	6
		Nov 2022	70%	29	41	25	17	8	5



GREATER MIDDLE EAST

[Q108-116 SAMPLE B ONLY]

Thinking now about the Middle East...

When it comes to each of the following, do you think the US is doing too much, too little, or is the current level of activity about right? [RANDOMIZE]

		Doing <u>too much</u>	Doing <u>too little</u>	About <u>right</u>	(Don't <u>know</u>)
108.	Supporting Israel	20%	26	43	11
109.	Supporting Palestinians	19%	30	35	17
110.	Working to calm tensions and stop the spiral of violence in the region	10%	43	35	12
111.	Countering Hamas	11%	39	33	18
112.	Countering Hezbollah	9%	34	30	27
113.	Countering Iranian influence in the Middle East	11%	39	32	18
114.	Disrupting Iran's nuclear weapons development	8%	47	27	18
115.	Advocating for humanitarian aid to residents of the Gaza Strip	14%	34	38	14
116.	Working for the release of Americans taken hostage by Hamas	7%	47	32	14



EVALUATIONS OF PRESIDENTS

[Q117-124 SAMPLE B ONLY]

Finally, on a different subject...

Thinking now about recent presidents, please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of each one I mention. **[DO NOT RANDOMIZE]**

		----Favorable----			----Unfavorable----			(DK)
		TOTAL	Very	Some- what	TOTAL	Some- what	Very	
117. Jimmy Carter	Nov 2023	57%	21	35	27	16	11	16
	Nov 2022	57%	26	31	31	19	12	13
	Nov 2021	50%	20	30	34	19	15	15
	Feb 2021	57%	23	33	31	18	13	13
118. Ronald Reagan	Nov 2023	65%	36	29	27	16	11	8
	Nov 2022	67%	35	32	26	17	9	7
	Nov 2021	69%	42	27	22	12	10	9
	Feb 2021	71%	42	28	22	12	10	7
	Oct 2019	76%	46	30	20	13	7	4
	Nov 2018	77%	44	33	19	12	7	4
119. George H. W. Bush	Nov 2023	59%	17	42	35	21	14	6
	Nov 2022	60%	20	39	35	24	12	5
	Nov 2021	62%	21	41	31	20	11	7
	Feb 2021	63%	19	44	31	20	11	6
	Oct 2019	71%	23	48	25	17	8	3
	Nov 2018	65%	18	47	31	21	10	4
120. Bill Clinton	Nov 2023	55%	20	35	40	23	17	5
	Nov 2022	55%	20	34	41	24	17	5
	Nov 2021	55%	23	33	38	22	16	6
	Feb 2021	56%	24	32	39	21	18	5
	Oct 2019	60%	21	39	39	19	20	2
	Nov 2018	63%	24	39	35	19	16	2
121. George W. Bush	Nov 2023	55%	16	39	40	23	17	5
	Nov 2022	57%	18	39	39	25	14	4
	Nov 2021	57%	18	39	38	23	15	5
	Feb 2021	62%	20	42	33	22	12	5
	Oct 2019	63%	18	45	35	21	14	2
	Nov 2018	57%	13	44	41	24	17	2



		----Favorable----			----Unfavorable----				
			Very	Some-	TOTAL	Some-	Very	(DK)	
		TOTAL		what		what			
122.	Barack Obama	Nov 2023	61%	36	24	38	14	24	2
		Nov 2022	60%	39	21	37	14	23	3
		Nov 2021	59%	36	23	37	14	23	4
		Feb 2021	60%	39	21	37	12	25	3
		Oct 2019	60%	40	20	39	12	27	1
		Nov 2018	60%	40	20	39	14	25	1
123.	Donald Trump	Nov 2023	47%	29	18	50	9	42	2
		Nov 2022	48%	28	20	49	10	39	3
		Nov 2021	50%	32	18	46	9	37	4
		Feb 2021	46%	32	14	51	10	41	2
		Oct 2019	46%	29	17	52	9	43	2
		Nov 2018	44%	25	19	55	7	48	2
124.	Joe Biden	Nov 2023	38%	16	23	59	15	45	2
		Nov 2022	43%	17	26	54	14	40	3
		Nov 2021	44%	19	25	51	13	38	5
		Feb 2021	53%	32	21	41	12	30	6

DEMOGRAPHICS

We're almost done. Now we just have a few basic questions for statistical purposes. **[ASK ALL DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS OF ALL RESPONDENTS]**

125. What is your age?

18-29	18%
30-44	25
45-64	38
65 and up	19
(Refused)	1

126. What is your primary race or ethnicity?

White	71%
Black or African-American	13
Hispanic or Latino	8
Asian or Asian-American	3
Native American	1
Middle Eastern	*
Mixed Race	2
Other [RECORD VERBATIM]	*
(Refused)	1



[SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF HISPANIC OR LATINO]

127. Are you of Spanish, Latino, or Hispanic origin or descent?

Yes	13%
No	85
(Don't know / Refused)	1

128. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

Did not graduate from high school	3%
High school degree	23
Some college/2-year college degree	34
4-year college degree	25
Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.)	15
(Not sure)	*

129. Would you describe yourself as a born-again or evangelical Christian, or not?

Yes	34%
No	62
(Don't know)	4

130. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as... **[ROTATE 1-2]**

A Democrat	31%
A Republican	31
An independent	33
(Don't know)	5

[IF INDEPENDENT OR (DON'T KNOW)]

131. Do you lean more to the **[ROTATE FIRST TWO OPTIONS]** Democrats, to the Republicans, or don't lean either way?

Democrats	25%
Republican	24
Neither way	45
(Don't know)	6

PID-3 (with independents leaned)

Democrat	41%
Republican	40
Independent	19



[IF REPUBLICAN / LEAN REPUBLICAN]

132. How likely are you to vote in the Republican presidential primary, to pick the Republican nominee for president in 2024? Will you...

TOTAL WILL VOTE	86%
TOTAL WILL NOT VOTE	11
Definitely vote in the primary	70%
Probably vote	17
Probably not vote	7
Definitely not vote in the primary	4
(Don't know)	3

[IF DEFINITELY / PROBABLY. N=866]

133. I'm going to read a list of potential candidates for the 2024 Republican nomination for president. Please tell me which one you would like to see as the Republican presidential nominee. **[RANDOMIZE]**

Donald Trump	63%
Ron DeSantis	10
Nikki Haley	8
Vivek Ramaswamy	4
Mike Pence	3
Tim Scott	2
Chris Christie	1
Asa Hutchinson	*
Larry Elder	*
Perry Johnson	*
Doug Burgum	*
(Other) [RECORD VERBATIM]	*
(None of the above)	*
(Don't know)	7

134. In general, how would you describe your own political viewpoint?

TOTAL LIBERAL	27%
TOTAL CONSERVATIVE	35
Very liberal	10%
Somewhat liberal	17
Moderate	33
Somewhat conservative	21
Very conservative	14
(Don't know)	5



135. Thinking about the 2020 presidential elections, did you vote for **[ROTATE 1-2]** Donald Trump, Joe Biden, for another candidate, or did you not vote?

Donald Trump	37%
Joe Biden	40
Other	4
Didn't vote	15
(Not sure / Refused)	4

136. If Donald Trump and Joe Biden are the candidates in the 2024 presidential election, would you vote for: **[ROTATE 1-2]**

Donald Trump	42%
Joe Biden	36
(Other)	9
Or, would you not vote	9
(Not sure / Refused)	4

137. Are you currently a member of the armed services?

Yes, service member	3%
Not	96
(Don't know)	1

[SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF YES ABOVE]

138. Is anyone in your household currently a member of the armed services?

Yes, service member household	7%
Not	91
(Don't know)	2

[SKIP AND CODE AS NOT IF SERVICE MEMBER]

139. Are you a veteran of the armed services?

Yes, veteran	9%
Not	90
(Don't know)	1

[SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF YES ABOVE]

140. Is anyone in your household a veteran of the armed services?

Yes, veteran household	23%
Not	75
(Don't know)	2



[IF AGE 18-29 ONLY. SKIP IF SERVICE MEMBER OR VETERAN]

141. How willing would you, personally, be to serve in the US military?

TOTAL WILLING	10%
TOTAL NOT WILLING	56
Extremely willing	6%
Very willing	5
Somewhat willing	21
Not very willing	22
Not willing at all	35
(Depends)	9
(Don't know)	3

142. SEX **[BASED ON OBSERVATION ON PHONE]**

Male	47%
Female	53
Non-binary [ONLINE ONLY]	1
I'd rather not say [ONLINE ONLY]	*

143. REGION1 **[BASED ON AREA CODE / IP ADDRESS]**

New England	5%
Mid-Atlantic	14
Upper Mid-East	14
Upper Mid-West	6
Deep South	26
Border South	12
Rocky Mountain West	7
Pacific	16

144. REGION2 **[BASED ON AREA CODE / IP ADDRESS]**

East	18%
Midwest	20
South	38
West	23

